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Rutland VT Herald

February 17, 1986

CIA Consultant Thinks Days Numbered for Marcos Regime

By ED BARNA

Communist insurgents lack the strength to oust Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, but military officers fighting those insurgents might turn against Marcos and his army cronies, according to political scientist David Rosenberg.

Rosenberg, a professor at Middlebury College, told a Rutland audience last week that he had been called upon repeatedly by the State Department and CIA in the last two weeks to help figure out what is happening in the Philippines.

His area of greatest expertise, he said, is the guerrilla movement itself, which he described as a local reaction to extreme poverty without ties to any foreign power. But the guerrillas are well organized, have good leadership, and are "probably the most rapidly growing communist insurgency in the world today," he said.

The job of fighting those forces has been left to

lower-echelon field commanders, Rosenberg told the Rutland Peace Network Thursday at the Unitarian Church. Those officers are increasingly impatient with the contrast between their dangerous duty in isolated areas and the wealth and corruption in senior military circles in Manila, Rosenberg said.

A military reform committee of younger officers has criticized the military's share in plundering the Philippine economy, he said. "The situation is ripe for a junior officer coup d'etat," he said.

By now everyone knows Marcos' time is running out, Rosenberg said, with the possible exception of the United States. Marcos is suffering from Lupus Erythematosus, a progressive degenerative disease, and Rosenberg estimated he has six months to two years to live.

"He barely made it through the campaign,"

(See Page 32: Rosenberg)

Rosenberg

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Rosenberg said, by being carried during his half dozen trips outside Manila. "He apparently had a portable dialysis machine, which he used in public view several times," he said.

Marcos used 30 percent of the country's yearly budget to buy votes in the election, Rosenberg said, spending half a billion dollars even though the country is \$26 billion in debt. Major banks, like Chase Manhattan and The Bank of America, will not "roll over" their loans — "they weren't going to invest another plugged peso in that country until it got back on the road again," he said.

The real turning point in the political situation, Rosenberg said, was when Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., and Sen. David Durenberger, R-Minn., of the Select Committee on Intelligence issued a report last November saying the Marcos regime was "unable and unlikely to make the necessary reforms to slow or halt the insurgency," though this would have to be done in three years to prevent all-out civil war.

As a result, Rosenberg said, a number of high level American officials pressured Marcos to hold elections earlier than 1987.

Polls indicate Corazon Aquino actually led Marcos by a 4-1 margin in urban areas and a 3-1 margin in rural areas, Rosenberg said. So Marcos has done what he did after the May 1984 National Assembly elections, Rosenberg said. He had delayed the vote count to allow manipulations.

If massive demonstrations and strikes bring the country to a halt, there are many groups that would welcome Marcos' departure, Rosenberg said. Although a few American corporations have leased

large tracts of land in some provinces, the international business community as a whole is against Marcos, he said.

In the U.S. government, "I think certainly at the undersecretary level and the deputy assistant level, there are many people who realize the importance of not saying the wrong thing" and seeming to give U.S. support to Marcos, he said.

But the possibility remains that Marcos will conduct a brutal crackdown, or even assassinate Aquino and Salvadore Laurel, Rosenberg said.

He had never thought Marcos would declare martial law in 1972, or surround Benigno Aquino with 10,000 troops at the airport and openly assassinate him, or do so much to ruin the economy through rule by decree, or resort to such obvious frauds in the recent elections. But Rosenberg would not be surprised now to see Corazon Aquino killed.

If Marcos or his cronies stay in power through force, then civil war will come and the moderate forces will disappear, Rosenberg said. Some will go into the countryside to stay with relatives, he said, but many will go to foreign countries, further weakening the economy by draining off badly needed skills.

There is already a waiting list of a half a million Filipinos who want to come to the United States, he said.

And as American intervention turns the civil insurgency into a war of national liberation against a foreign power, "they would be unstoppable," Rosenberg said.

Not that there is no hope. "We came very close to the best-case scenario" in the recent election, Rosenberg said.

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Witness Says U.S. Planned An Invasion

Nicaragua Target, Vermont Professor Claims

By TOM SLAYTON

BURLINGTON — The Reagan administration had a plan for the invasion of Nicaragua poised and ready for implementation earlier this year, a U.S. State Department consultant testified Thursday.

David Rosenberg of Middlebury, a consultant to the State Department, testified Thursday in Vermont District Court that "Operation Pegasus," a massive military operation in the Caribbean last spring, which was presented to the public as a training exercise, was planned as an invasion of Nicaragua.

Only the discovery last spring that the Central Intelligence Agency had mined Nicaragua's harbors prevented the invasion from taking place, Rosenberg said.

"(The invasion) was scheduled to happen in May," Rosenberg said. "But it happened that one month earlier there was a leak on the mining of the Nicaraguan harbors, and an outcry went up in the public and in Congress."

One result of that outcry was that Congress passed a resolution barring the unilateral use of United States ground forces in the region.

"That had a successful effect in heading off the Pegasus plan," said Rosenberg, who is an associate professor at Middlebury College in addition to his work as a federal consultant.

He was one of three witnesses with close ties to the federal government and the CIA who testified Thursday at the trial of 26 protesters charged with trespassing last March in U.S. Sen. Robert T. Stafford's office.

The trial, which is unfolding this week at District Court here, is unusual because of an agreement between prosecution and defense lawyers allowing the accused to present expert witnesses with testimony relating directly to U.S. policy in Central America as a part of their defense. In return, the protesters have agreed to a group trial, instead of individual trials.

The 26 defendants maintain that conditions in Central America and Stafford's refusal to discuss those conditions with them at an open meeting made their occupation of his office a necessity. Their witnesses said repeatedly Thursday that citizen action was a necessity to counteract U.S. government lies

policies was an important trend. Nothing that she had heard of Nicaragua as part of "Witnesses for Peace" program, Terhune said that both that trip and the trip to Stafford's office were intended to protect the peace in Nicaragua from more sponsored killing and terrorism. Deputy State's Attorney K. Shingler, in cross-examination, asked Terhune if she felt that Nicaragua had been successful.

"Ma'am, I felt my voice just begun," she responded. "The trial will continue in District Court before Judge Frank G. Mahoney. The first witness Friday morning is expected to be Howard Terhune, a historian and author, who will talk about the historical context of public protest movements. Former U.S. attorney General Ramsey Clark may also testify."

It is likely the case will be heard Friday, although the report raised the question of whether the trial might be postponed. That the protesters passed out handbills supporting the case may be raised Friday and the stand in the way of the jury's consideration of the case.

arms to Salvadoran rebels. That was true until 1981, said MacMichael, but since then, the arms shipments have completely halted. "The Department of State and the Defense Department said many times that the arms flow was the reason for the covert war," he said. "That was the sole reason advanced by the administration, and yet there was, in fact, no arms flow."

The administration was well aware that Nicaragua was not supplying arms to El Salvador after early 1981, MacMichael said. Asked what the real reason for their continued support of the contra rebels was, he responded: "I believe the real reason was to cause the overthrow of the government of Nicaragua."

Interspersed with the testimony of the Central American experts was the testimony of some of the protesters who were arrested in Stafford's office March 26. Many of them had traveled to Nicaragua to witness conditions there and had come back home, convinced that U.S. policy should change.

Lee Terhune of Colchester, one of the defendants, said she felt her presence in Stafford's office had let him know that he had Vermont constituents who were concerned about the Central American issue. His vote for Reagan Central American

out to Western newspapers. "We managed to get this story picked up by most of the media in the U.S. and abroad," he said. He said that the thrust of the CIA-produced "news" — that Cuban and Soviet troops and not the CIA were the aggressors in Angola — was exactly the opposite of the truth.

Stockwell said he subsequently left the CIA because he felt the agency's actions were morally wrong and were not in the best interests of the United States. It is possible to bring the CIA under control, he said, but the public must become actively involved to do so.

"Citizens have to take control," he said. "It's absolutely essential that they make themselves heard, by speaking out and by demonstrating, so that public knowledge and concern can override the agency's ability to distort for its own purposes."

David MacMichael, a CIA analyst from 1981 to 1983, testified that the Reagan administration had lied about its real motive for backing the covert counterinsurgency war of the "contra" rebels against Nicaragua.

The reason publicly presented by the administration for backing the contras has been the allegation that the Sandinista government of Nicaragua is shipping

trial continued from Page One

testimony the day before entered on charges of atrocities perpetrated against civilians in Salvador by government forces there. Thursday, the focus shifted to the role of the United States government, and specifically, the CIA in Nicaragua and elsewhere.

Former CIA official John Stockwell testified late in the afternoon that during his 13 years with the intelligence agency he helped concoct false news reports that were fed to an unsuspecting public via American newspapers and radio stations.

Accepted them as truth. "An entire department of the CIA is devoted to producing misinformation which is designed to support United States policy," he said. "One third of the men under my supervision were propagandists."

The CIA created false news reports, Stockwell said, in order to continue to do what it wanted to do. He noted that while he was in charge of CIA operations in Angola, for example, a CIA story about Cuban soldiers raping African women — and later being executed by a female firing squad — was fabricated and sent

SDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 4, 1985

Corazon Aquino Is Called 'Last Hope' for Philippines

By **BARBARA BOSWORTH MIDDLEBURY** — The acquittal of Fabbian C. Ver of the assassination of Benigno Aquino will cause many Filipinos to lose faith in peaceful, constitutional change in their country, according to a Middlebury College professor who is a specialist on the Philippines.

However, Aquino's widow, Corazon Aquino, who announced her presidential candidacy Tuesday, may be successful in opposing President Ferdinand E. Marcos and restoring constitutional government and civil liberties, **David Rosenberg** said.

Rosenberg has studied the Philippines since 1968 as a political scientist, and has been a consultant on the Philippines for congressional committees, State Department agencies, the Agency for International Development, the **CIA**, and other organizations. He has also taught at the University of the Philippines as a visiting professor.

Ver was quickly reinstated as chief of the Philippines military following his trial. During his trial, the court had ruled that evidence against him gathered by an investigating commission could not be used in the trial.

But the acquittal on Monday was "simply incredible to most Filipinos who view the assassination as a military plot," Rosenberg said.

Aquino was the country's leading opposition leader and was killed upon his arrival at

the airport in Manila.

The outcome of the trial of Ver and 25 other defendants will sharply polarize the politics of the Philippines, Rosenberg said. The acquittal and reinstatement will probably indicate to Filipinos that they cannot depend on their judicial system to help restore democratic government, which has been suspended during Marcos' 20-year rule, he said.

Many members of the Filipino middle class have been committed to the rule of law and constitutional government, according to Rosenberg. "I doubt that they will join the revolutionary movement, but they will leave the country."

Rosenberg called Corazon Aquino the Philippines' "last hope." The presidential election, scheduled for Feb. 7, "might be the last election for a long time," he said.

"As Benigno Aquino's widow, Corazon Aquino is a very powerful symbol of anti-Marcos opposition. She has pulled together a wide range of groups in opposition," Rosenberg said.

"She is untainted by connections to either the old martial law government, which has been discredited, or the Marcos rule. She has little political experience and does not belong to a political party, but she has a spontaneous, widespread, ad hoc following," he said.

The radical opposition to the Marcos government will benefit from the disgrace of

the judicial process, Rosenberg said. "It proves what they've been saying all along. But most Filipinos are not ready to take up arms."

"The Roman Catholic Church is probably the single most important non-Communist, non-radical opponent to Marcos now. About 10 to 15 percent of priests and nuns have joined the rebels, but the church is mostly a voice of reconciliation and moderation," Rosenberg said.

Half a million Filipinos are already on a waiting list in Manila seeking visas to emigrate to the United States, Rosenberg said. "Human and capital flight is a tremendous problem in the Philippines," he said.

"Many elections (in the Philippines under Marcos' rule) have been very farcical — more a disgrace than an affirmation of the democratic process," he said.

When Marcos declared martial law in 1972, he began to rely on the military to run the government and the economy, Rosenberg said. Many military officials were appointed to govern provinces, a military censorship board was established, and a military court system was set up to deal with dissenters, who were considered subversive.

Marcos increased the military from a force of about 65,000 to almost 200,000, he said. Many of the new officers had political loyalties to Marcos but little or no traditional military training.



David Rosenberg: Whose side are you on?

CIA AND PEACE INFORM- ANT

MIDDLEBURY

A year ago, he helped the Winooski 44 necessity defense with dramatic testimony about US plans to invade Nicaragua.

Now, David Rosenberg, Middlebury College associate professor of political science, stands informally accused of significant involvement in Reagan administration machinations regarding another Third World country, the Philippines.

In a recent "Resist Newsletter" article, Erik Guyot, co-director of the Congressional Liaison Unit of the Philippine Support Committee, wrote that Rosenberg poses as a friend of anti-Marcos opposition groups while consistently consulting with the CIA, State Department and other government agencies.

"The fact that I talk to the CIA is the reason the left is angry with me. I think."

lecturer for government agencies has given him a close look at the inner sanctum of power.

This intimate perspective led to Rosenberg's Winooski 44 trial appearance. "I do know what's going on in US foreign policy-making circles, especially among those people with public records on insurgency-counterinsurgency. Many of them crossed my path in graduate school.

"Many people in the intelligence community feel covert actions are illegal and counterproductive. Some in the CIA were badly burned by Vietnam and feel this [Central America] is a replay. This insurgency group has been systematically reassigned to Central America. People I knew from other areas reappeared, working on Nicaragua."

Rosenberg testified that the Reaganites came into office with the objective of getting rid of the Sandinistas. Specifically, something called the Pegasus Plan was disguised to look like military training exercises, involving Contras and US naval and air forces.

"It went through all the motions of an invasion," Rosenberg said. "We landed 1,000 marines in Honduras." This was to lead to an actual invasion of Nicaragua in May 1984.

it was the Gulf of Tonkin."

So, given such an approach, what chance does Rosenberg see for a sensible US reaction to developments in the Philippines? "There's a better hope for a more enlightened policy," he says. "We have a history of armed and covert intervention in Central America; it's a bad habit."

Discounting our incursions during the Spanish American War in the late 19th century and again during the Huk rebellion in the fifties, Rosenberg cites three major reasons the US should not give the Philippines a Central American scenario:

"There is no Soviet support of the anti-Marcos opposition; quite the contrary, the Soviets have very cordial relations with Marcos. There are very significant American economic interests in the Philippines and military intervention would be economic disaster. And there's a strong human rights lobby there. Some 50,000 have been killed in El Salvador. That kind of brutality has not happened yet in the Philippines. There's still time to prevent it."

Rosenberg does acknowledge, however, that the same US military forces that trained the Salvadoran and Guatemalan death squads have access